R5685-11.1

Election '84
Report #1

JCPS

The Impact of the Black Electorate

Thomas E. Cavanagh

Joint Center for Political Studies Washington, D.C. 1984

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national nonprofit institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs.

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We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, which helped to make this publication possible.

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Foreword

"The Impact of the Black Electorate" is the first in a series of election reports the Joint Center will issue during 1984 and 1985.

Several factors have come together to place the black vote in the spotlight this year: the campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the upsurge in the number of registered black voters and black elected officials over the past year, the mustering of several major voter registration campaigns, and the unprecedented low approval ratings that blacks give the incumbent president. The Joint Center, which has monitored black political participation continually since 1970, plans to study all stages of the presidential selection process: the campaigns, the primaries, the conventions, the polls, the election. These studies will be the subject of future reports in this series.

Lowell Weicker stated at the 1982 NAACP convention, "Voting rights aren't worth a damn unless they are viewed as responsibilities too. I don't need to tell you that politicians tend to help those who help themselves by voting. Blacks haven't done that in recent elections; they've hurt themselves by staying at home, and that is what the bigots and the racists of the world are counting on." "The Impact of the Black Electorate" should help drive home just how powerful a force the black vote can be in 1984 and beyond.

This edition of "The Impact" is an updated version of a working paper prepared last year. Some of the research grew out of requests from both Republicans and Democrats for information on the black electorate. Thomas E. Cavanagh wrote the study under the supervision of Dr. Milton D. Morris, director of research at the Joint Center. Daniel Houston provided research assistance. The manuscript was edited by Constance Toliver, editorial assistant. Panola Golson and Beverly Nedd performed the typing.

Eddie N. Williams
President
January 1984

As the 1984 election approaches, the black vote looms large in the calculations of political strategists. Since 1980, the signs have been abundant that the United States is entering a major period of black political activism. Grass roots mobilization efforts added almost 600,000 blacks to the nation's voter registration rolls between 1980 and 1982, and as many as 2 million additional blacks may register by November 1984. Black voter turnout surged by 5.8 percent in the 1982 congressional elections over the 1978 level, helping to swell the ranks of black elected officials. Thanks to the victories of Harold Washington in Chicago and W. Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, more attention has been paid to the success of black mayoral campaigns than at any time since 1967. And Jesse Jackson has declared his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984. Both the outcome of the presidential race and the Republican fight to maintain control of the Senate could well hinge on the size and inclination of the black vote in 1984.

This paper examines the impact of the black electorate from several perspectives. After outlining where potential black voters are most heavily concentrated, the paper moves on to discuss trends in black registration, turnout, and partisanship. It concludes with some observations on the importance of the black vote in the election of black officeholders, convention delegates, the Electoral College, and the Senate.

The Location of Black Voters

As of November 1982, there were 17.8 million blacks of voting age in the United States. This represents 10.5 percent of the total voting-age population. Four states--New York, California, Texas, and Illinois--have a potential black electorate of 1 million or more (Table 1). The heaviest concentration of black voters is in the South, where 16.5 percent of the voting-age population is black, while the West has the smallest proportion of black voters, only 4.9 percent of the region's voting-age population. Slightly over half (52.9 percent) of the nation's black voting-age population resides in the South.

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Much of the black population, especially outside the South, is concentrated in the urban areas. Table 2 ranks the 50 cities with the largest numbers of voting-age blacks as of the 1980 census. New York City heads the list, with more than 1 million blacks age 18 years old or over. East Orange, New Jersey, has the highest percentage of voting-age blacks on this list (79.1 percent), followed by:

--Gary (67.2 percent)

--Washington, D.C. (65.8 percent)

--Atlanta (60.6 percent)

--Detroit (58.3 percent)

--Newark (55.1 percent)

--Birmingham (50.6 percent)

--Baltimore (50.4 percent)

--New Orleans (48.9 percent)

--Richmond (45.9 percent).

Blacks make up 20 percent or more of the total population in 84 of the 435 newly redrawn U.S. congressional districts, and they make up 20 percent or more of the voting-age population in 72 of these districts. Table 3 shows the locations of these districts, their incumbent U.S. representatives, and the Congressional Education Associates' rating of the incumbents' roll call voting records on issues of concern to minorities. The vast majority of these districts, 49, are in the South; 8 are in the Northeast; 11 in the Midwest; and 4 in the West, all in California. Blacks are well situated to deliver a swing vote in several southern districts where incumbents have won by narrow margins in recent years. For example, the black vote is widely believed to have been a crucial factor in the 1982 reelection victories of Wayne Dowdy in Mississippi and Ike Andrews in North Carolina. Black voters likewise provided the crucial margin to Democratic challengers in the 1982 defeats of several Republicans in the South, including Albert Lee Smith of Alabama, Eugene Johnston of North Carolina, John Napier of South Carolina, and Robert Daniel of Virginia.

There are 14 House districts in which blacks are a majority of the voting-age population. All but one are in inner city areas. There are 3 such districts in Chicago, 2 in Detroit, and 1 each in Atlanta, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Memphis, Newark, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. The only black-majority rural district is the 2nd District in Mississippi's Delta region, in which 53 percent of the voting-age population is black. This district's 1982 Democratic nominee, black State Representative Robert Clark, narrowly lost a bid to become the first black congressman from the rural South since Reconstruction. The black proportions in the Mississippi Delta and New Orleans districts increased in December 1983 as a result of court cases that led to revisions in the 1982 district lines.

Registration

The prerequisite to electoral participation and influence is registration. Virtually without exception, the black voting-age population is concentrated in demographic categories noted for low registration. The black population is younger, less educated, more blue collar, move impoverished, less likely to be married, more likely to be composed of renters, and more southern than the white population--all factors associated with low voter participation.

When all of these factors are statistically controlled, black turnout is about equal to white turnout. In other words, the lower registration and turnout of blacks can be entirely accounted for by their relatively marginal position in a white-dominated society.*

Who are the unregistered blacks? The following capsule description of unregistered blacks is derived from the 1982 Census Bureau survey of voter registration:

- 58.3 percent are under the age of 35;
- 56.8 percent reside in the South;
- 51.8 percent live in central cities;
- 61.0 percent have a high school education;
- 61.8 percent are renters;
- 57.9 percent are unmarried;
- 53.7 percent are unemployed or not in the labor force;
- 64.7 percent had a 1982 family income under $15,000.

The peculiar history of the South still affects the registration patterns of southern blacks even today. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and other legal and extra-legal forms of coercion kept down the level of southern black registration until the mid-1960s. Passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 heralded a new era in political participation, and since 1966, the number of blacks registered to vote in the South has increased from 3.0 million to 5.4 million, although the registration rate for southern blacks is currently well below its 1972 peak of 64.0 percent (Table 4).

In the United States as a whole, black registration increased by 573,000 between 1980 and 1982. This contrasts with a pattern of slight increases or actual declines in black registration between presidential and midterm election years since 1970 (Table 4). The 1982 surge in registration bodes well for the much more ambitious registration efforts planned for 1984. If the black registration rate equals or exceeds the peak 1968 level, a net gain of up to 2 million additional blacks to the voter registration rolls before November 1984 would be a realistic possibility.

Turnout

The same demographic factors generally determine both voter registration and turnout levels. In presidential election years, a very high proportion of those who are registered to vote also turn out to vote. This proportion is usually at least 80 percent for the black population in presidential elections and close to 90 percent for the white population (Table 5). These proportions are fairly stable from year to year at the presidential level, but they are much more variable below the presidential level, dipping to 70 percent or lower in midterm congressional elections. Thus, registration drives are likely to be

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* The registration and turnout estimates discussed in this section are derived from Census Bureau surveys. Because there is a tendency for survey respondents to report that they have registered and voted when they have not, these figures undoubtedly overestimate registration and turnout levels for both blacks and whites.

most effective in producing new voters in presidential election years, when political interest is at a peak and most registrants are highly likely to vote. In nonpresidential races (such as congressional and mayoral campaigns), get-out-the-vote drives become relatively more important.

Regional differences in electoral participation are quite striking when one examines voter turnout rates directly (Table 6). In the South, black turnout surged following the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, and it remains at a historically high level despite a subsequent mild decline. Outside the South, the pattern is much different: there was a dramatic decline in turnout from 1964 to 1976, followed by an apparent stabilization, and then a large increase in 1982. The post-1964 decline in voter participation for blacks outside the South (19.8 percent) was much more steep than that for nonsouthern whites, whose turnout declined by 12.1 percent. This precipitious drop is visible in the differences between black and white turnout presented in Table 6: In 1964, northern blacks voted at almost the same rate as northern whites, but by 1972, white turnout was 10.8 percentage points higher than black turnout outside the South.

Another noteworthy trend is the gradual shrinking of the difference in turnout levels between the North and the South. The trend toward declining regional differences is particularly pronounced among blacks. In 1964, northern black turnout was 28.0 percent higher than southern black turnout. By 1980, the margin had been reduced to 4.6 percent. Given these trends, it is not surprising that the gap between black and white turnout within the South in 1982 (4.6 percent) was identical to that outside the South. This is just one of the many ways in which, politically speaking, the South is becoming more like the rest of the country.

Many observers have been impressed by the size of the overall increase in turnout between the midterm elections of 1978 and 1982, which has apparently brought to a close two decades of steady deterioration in American electoral participation. The 5.8 percent increase among blacks nationwide was more than double the white increase of 2.6 percent. As a result, the gap separating black and white turnout was reduced to 6.9 percent nationwide. This is the smallest nationwide difference in reported voter turnout since the Census Bureau began compiling systematic data in 1964 (and almost certainly, therefore, the smallest gap ever).

The sizeable jump in black turnout occurred both inside and outside of the South. The 4.8 percent increase in southern black turnout far exceeded the 1.8 percent increase among southern whites. The most dramatic increase occurred in the North and West, where black turnout surged by 7.2 percent, compared to 3.1 percent for whites.

Partisanship and Voting

In recent years, blacks have been the single most cohesive element in the Democratic party coalition, at least in presidential elections. It is useful to remember, however, that blacks have not always been such strong supporters of the Democratic party. Before the New Deal era, blacks were just as solidly identified with the Republicans, "the party of Lincoln," which had abolished slavery during the Civil War. Most blacks were sufficiently hostile to the subsequent Jim Crow legacy of southern Democrats to maintain their Republican allegiance until the Great Depression. The economic dislocations of the Hoover era accelerated a trend toward a division of the black vote along class lines, although as late as 1932, Hoover carried the black vote in most major cities. The relief provided by New Deal programs brought about a major transition of black political loyalties by 1936. Overall, close to half of the black elec-

torate identified with the Democrats at the dawn of modern survey research in the late 1930s (Table 7).

The current, overwhelmingly Democratic affiliation of black voters, however, is a more recent phenomenon. The first major postwar shift came in 1948, when President Harry S. Truman proposed a comprehensive package of civil rights legislation, and the Democrats then adopted a civil rights plank in their party platform that was strong enough to prompt a walkout by southern delegations and the "Dixiecrat" presidential candidacy of Strom Thurmond. The second big spurt occurred in 1964, when the Republicans nominated an outspoken opponent of that year's Civil Rights Act to run against Johnson, the president who had secured its adoption by Congress. The Democrats have maintained a roughly ten-to-one edge over the Republicans in black party identification ever since. There are economic interests as well as political loyalties underlying current black party allegiance. Not only are poor blacks dependent on government transfer programs, the black middle class is also heavily reliant on the public sector for employment opportunities and contracting arrangements.

Party identification is traditionally the strongest predictor of voting behavior. Thus, it is not surprising that the patterns in black party identification are mirrored by the patterns in black presidential voting in recent decades (Table 8). The only sizeable discrepancy occurred during the New Deal period, when Roosevelt apparently commanded substantial support from black Republicans.

The low level of black turnout has meant that the full force of the black preference for Democrats has yet to be felt in the electoral arena. A successful effort to mobilize black turnout across the country could have a striking impact on the current political balance in the United States, given the current Democratic proclivities of the black electorate.

Conversely, the status of the black vote as a consistent bulwark of the Democratic coalition presents an opportunity to the Republicans. Without black votes in several large states, the Democrats could not hope to attain a majority in the Senate or in presidential elections. Similarly, the presence of safe Democratic seats in largely black inner-city districts affords the Democrats a cushion in assembling a majority in the House of Representatives. Substantial Republican inroads into the black vote would all but eliminate the majority status of the Democratic party. Thus, the Democrats cannot afford to take the black vote for granted.

What Difference Does It Make?

Observers often wonder whether black electoral participation has produced measurable results for blacks in the political arena. Over the past decade, the most visible sign of black political progress has been the steady increase in the number of black officeholders elected across the country. The number of black elected officials has increased from 1,469 in 1970 to 5,606 in 1983 (Table 9). During that period, the number of black members of Congress has increased from 10 to 21; other important categories of office showing sizeable growth include state representatives (137 to 290) and city council members (552 to 2,030). Perhaps most striking is the increase from 48 to 247 black mayors since 1970. There are currently 19 black mayors serving in cities with a population of 100,000 or more (Table 10). Blacks now preside over four of the nation's six largest cities: Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

The power of the black vote became vividly apparent in several key elections in 1982. Texas Governor Mark White could not have won without the strong support of black and Hispanic voters, and New York Governor Mario Cuomo owes his victories in both the Democratic primary and the general election to his backing by blacks. In addition, blacks were the decisive factor in the defeats of four conservative Republican congressmen from the South.

With such considerations in mind, black delegates are likely to be a focus of attention at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1984. Fully 14.4 percent of the 1980 Democratic National Convention was comprised of black delegates (Table 11 and 12), and this proportion could rise to as high as 20 percent if state parties adhere to the Hunt Commission guidelines, which call for representation of blacks and other minorities in proportion to their share of the Democratic electorate within each state. Only 2.7 percent of the delegates to the 1980 Republican National Convention were black (Tables 13 and 14); the party hopes to improve upon this showing in 1984.

Black registration drives could have a pivotal impact on the outcome of the 1984 presidential election, as well as on the success of Republican efforts to retain control of the Senate. There are 11 states--with a total of 134 electoral votes--in which the number of unregistered potential black voters exceeds President Reagan's 1980 margin of victory (Table 15). In several of these states, a small increase in voter registration could be sufficient to shift the state from the Republican to the Democratic column in the Electoral College. For example, there are close to 1 million unregistered blacks in New York alone, where Reagan won in 1980 by only 165,469 votes. North Carolina, which has the nation's lowest black voter registration rate (43.6 percent), was carried by Reagan by only 39,383 votes, and will also be the scene of a closely fought Senate race between Republican incumbent Jesse Helms and Democratic Governor James Hunt. Other Senate incumbents whose fates could hinge on black voter registration efforts include: Thad Cochran in Mississippi, Charles Percy in Illinois, Strom Thurmond in South Carolina, and John Warner in Virginia, all Republicans. The registration drives will also strongly affect the contests for the open Senate seats in Tennessee and Texas.

Another way to gauge the potential for black leverage in the 1984 presidential race is to examine the recent history of presidential voting by state. Table 16 presents the net margin of victory for each state in each of the last six presidential elections, expressed as a percentage of the total vote. A Democratic plurality of the vote is denoted by a plus, and a Republican plurality by a minus. To summarize the partisan leanings of each state, the table also presents the median margin of victory for each state, which is calculated by rank-ordering the six victory margins for a given state from highest to lowest and then averaging the two middle figures. For example, the six election margins for the state of Connecticut range from Democratic pluralities of 35.7 percent in 1964, 7.4 percent in 1960, and 5.2 percent in 1968, to Republican pluralities of 5.2 percent in 1976, 9.7 percent in 1980, and 18.5 percent in 1972. Averaging the two middle figures (+5.2 and -5.2) yields a median victory margin of 0.0 percent. (The median is employed, rather than an average of the six elections, because the averages are distorted by the landslide elections of 1964 and 1972).

The median victory margins are summarized in a "Partisan Outlook" for each state based on the following system: a median victory margin of less than 4.0 percent is a tossup; a margin between 4.0 and 7.9 percent is leaning; a margin between 8.0 and 14.9 percent is strong; and a margin of 15 percent or more is safe. From examining the table, it can be seen that the Republicans have a secure base in the midwestern Farm Belt and the Rocky Mountains; adding together their "safe," "strong," and "leaning" states yields a total of 167 electoral votes. The Democratic base is much more scattered: Georgia,

Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, comprising a total of 94 electoral votes. The remaining, tossup states hold a total of 277 electoral votes, suggesting that based on recent electoral trends, the 1984 presidential race is likely to be closely contested.

The battleground states cluster into two groups: Frost Belt industrial states (the so-called Rust Bowl) and the South. In all but 4 of the 20 tossup states, denoted by asterisks in the table, the black percentage of the voting-age population is higher than the median victory margin, meaning that blacks are in a position to serve as a crucial swing vote at the national level. In other words, a Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a high black turnout and a large Democratic share of the black vote in northern cities and the South.

Overall, the black electorate is becoming an increasingly visible and strategically crucial voting bloc. But realizing the full potential of black influence in the voting booth will require a redoubled effort to ensure that blacks are registered and turn out to vote in unprecedented numbers.

Table 1. Black voting age-population, by state, November 1982

State	Black voting-age population	Total voting-age population	Black percentage of total
New York	1,631,000	13,153,000	12.4
California	1,298,000	18,277,000	7.1
Texas	1,198,000	10,793,000	11.1
Illinois	1,077,000	8,346,000	12.9
Georgia	982,000	4,040,000	24.3
Florida	923,000	8,169,000	11.3
North Carolina	897,000	4,417,000	20.3
Louisiana	813,000	3,055,000	26.6
Michigan	767,000	6,554,000	11.7
Pennsylvania	720,000	8,883,000	8.1
Ohio	717,000	7,793,000	9.2
Virginia	714,000	4,078,000	17.5
Maryland	664,000	3,190,000	20.8
Alabama	644,000	2,812,000	22.9
South Carolina	625,000	2,291,000	27.3
New Jersey	610,000	5,544,000	11.0
Mississippi	541,000	1,745,000	31.0
Tennessee	479,000	3,375,000	14.2
Missouri	339,000	3,640,000	9.3
District of Columbia	320,000	487,000	65.8
Indiana	265,000	3,904,000	6.8
Arkansas	233,000	1,650,000	14.1
Kentucky	176,000	2,620,000	6.7
Massachusetts	149,000	4,394,000	3.4
Connecticut	143,000	2,378,000	6.0
Oklahoma	138,000	2,299,000	6.0
Wisconsin	111,000	3,464,000	3.2
Kansas	84,000	1,759,000	4.8
Washington	76,000	3,154,000	2.4
Colorado	71,000	2,225,000	3.2
Delaware	63,000	443,000	14.2
Arizona	52,000	2,061,000	2.5
West Virginia	45,000	1,408,000	3.2
Nevada	35,000	661,000	5.3
Minnesota	33,000	2,988,000	1.1
Nebraska	30,000	1,144,000	2.6
Iowa	25,000	2,094,000	1.2
Oregon	23,000	1,954,000	1.2
Rhode Island	18,000	726,000	2.5
New Mexico	16,000	936,000	1.7
Hawaii	14,000	716,000	1.9
Alaska	9,800	287,000	3.4
Utah	6,900	986,000	0.7
New Hampshire	2,800	697,000	0.4
Maine	2,500	831,000	0.3
Wyoming	2,500	354,000	0.7
Idaho	2,000	661,000	0.3
North Dakota	1,900	473,000	0.4
South Dakota	1,400	482,000	0.3
Montana	1,100	569,000	0.2
Vermont	800	379,000	0.2
Total	17,790,700	169,339,000	10.5

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: Estimates were derived as follows: The total voting-age population as of November 1982, is a Census Bureau estimate from Current Population Reports, series P.25, no. 916 (July 1982), Table 1. This figure was multiplied by the 1980 census figure for the black percentage of the total voting-age population to arrive at the estimated black voting-age population in November 1982. The totals in this table differ slightly from those in Table 4, which are derived from the biennial Census Bureau surveys of voter participation.

Table 2. Top 50 cities ranked by black voting-age population, 1980

City	Black voting-age population	Total voting-age population	Black percentage of total
New York, NY	1,202,125	5,306,172	22.7
Chicago, IL	764,574	2,152,196	35.5
Detroit, MI	489,017	838,721	58.3
Philadelphia, PA	433,964	1,251,052	34.7
Los Angeles, CA	352,259	2,221,112	15.9
Washington, D.C.	325,518	494,842	65.8
Baltimore, MD	289,638	574,832	50.4
Houston, TX	285,722	1,142,883	25.0
New Orleans, LA	194,326	397,183	48.9
Memphis, TN	192,587	458,338	42.0
Atlanta, GA	188,504	311,139	60.6
Cleveland, OH	170,302	414,378	41.1
Dallas, TX	167,308	660,286	25.3
St. Louis, MO	134,750	334,649	40.3
Newark, NJ	119,534	217,022	55.1
Oakland, CA	109,032	256,845	42.5
Birmingham, AL	105,536	208,654	50.6
Indianapolis, IN	97,789	500,360	19.5
Jacksonville, FL	87,652	385,339	22.7
Cincinnati, OH	86,203	288,203	29.9
Milwaukee, WI	84,250	464,346	18.1
Boston, MA	82,560	441,311	18.7
Columbus, OH	81,467	419,004	19.4
Kansas City, MO	78,882	329,452	23.9
Richmond, VA	78,163	170,189	45.9
Nashville-Davidson, TN	72,470	341,596	21.2
Pittsburgh, PA	69,900	333,393	21.0
Gary, IN	66,467	98,937	67.2
Norfolk, VA	63,396	201,366	31.5
Charlotte, NC	62,704	227,088	27.6
San Francisco, CA	62,610	562,363	11.1
Buffalo, NY	61,508	267,724	23.0
Jackson, MI	59,508	142,913	41.6
Miami, FL	58,664	272,771	21.5
Fort Worth, TX	55,628	280,751	19.8
Louisville, KY	55,329	223,779	24.7
San Diego, CA	52,342	664,106	7.9
Shreveport, CA	51,966	143,457	36.2
Baton Rouge, CA	51,160	159,562	32.1
Dayton, OH	48,933	147,643	33.1
Mobile, AL	45,879	142,392	32.2
Savannah, GA	44,128	99,561	44.3
Montgomery, AL	43,738	124,112	35.2
East Orange, NJ	43,617	55,166	79.1
Tampa, FL	39,625	203,378	19.5
Denver, CO	39,591	381,488	10.4
Flint, MI	39,474	108,741	36.3
San Antonio, TX	39,214	532,642	7.4
Toledo, OH	38,379	254,899	15.1
Columbus, GA	37,527	119,445	31.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 3. Congressional districts in which blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the voting-age population

State	District number	Location	Black percentage of voting-age population	Incumbent (party)	Percentage received by incumbent, 1982	CEA rating, 1982
Alabama	1	Mobile	28	Edwards (R)	62	30
	2	Montgomery	27	Dickinson (R)	50	10
	3	Anniston	25	Nichols (D)	96	40
	6	Birmingham	31	Erdreich (D)	53	-
	7	Tuscaloosa	30	Shelby (D)	97	35
Arkansas	4	Pine Bluff	25	Anthony (D)	66	75
California	8	Oakland-Berkeley	24	Dellums (D)	56	95
	28	Los Angeles-Inglewood	42	Dixon (D)	79	80
	29	Los Angeles-Downey	46	Hawkins (D)	80	95
	31	Compton-Carson	31	Dymally (D)	72	80
District of Columbia		At-Large	66	Fauntroy (D)	83	-
Florida	2	Tallahassee	22	Fuqua (D)	62	45
	3	Jacksonville	25	Bennett (D)	84	50
	17	Miami (North)	22	Lehman (D)	100	80
Georgia	1	Savannah	30	Thomas (D)	64	-
	2	Albany	30	Hatcher (D)	100	60
	3	Columbus	31	Ray (D)	71	-
	5	Atlanta	60	Fowler (D)	81	75
	8	Macon	32	Rowland (D)	100	-
	10	Augusta	23	Barnard (D)	100	45
Illinois	1	Chicago (South Side)	90	Hayes (D)	94	-
	2	Chicago (Lake Calumet)	66	Savage (D)	87	85
	7	Chicago (West Side)	60	Collins (D)	87	100
Indiana	1	Gary	22	Hall (D)	57	-
	10	Indianapolis	25	Jacobs (D)	67	90

Table 3 (Continued)

State	District number	Location	Black percentage of voting-age population	Incumbent (party)	Percentage received by incumbent, 1982	CEA rating, 1982
Louisiana	2	New Orleans	59*	Boggs (D)	77	75
	4	Shreveport	29	Roemer (D)	100	15
	5	Monroe	28	Huckaby (D)	83	45
	6	Baton Rouge	23	Moore (R)	87	30
	8	Alexandria	36	Long (D)	59	75
Maryland	5	Prince George's County	31	Hoyer (D)	80	90
	7	Baltimore (West)	70	Mitchell (D)	88	100
Michigan	1	Detroit-Highland Park	66	Conyers (D)	97	75
	13	Detroit (Central)	67	Crockett (D)	88	90
Mississippi	1	Tupelo	23	Whitten (D)	71	70
	2	Mississippi Delta	53	Franklin (R)	50	-
	3	Meridian	27	Montgomery (D)	93	10
	4	Jackson	41	Dowdy (D)	53	60
Missouri	1	St. Louis (North)	46	Clay (D)	66	90
	5	Kansas City	20	Wheat (D)	58	-
New Jersey	10	Newark	51	Rodino (D)	83	100
New York	6	Queens (Jamaica)	47	Addabbo (D)	96	90
	11	Brooklyn (Bedford-Stuyvesant)	47	Towns (D)	84	-
	12	Brooklyn (Crown Heights)	78	Owens (D)	91	-
	16	Manhattan (Harlem)	49	Rangel (D)	98	95
	18	Bronx (South)	44	Garcia (D)	99	75
North Carolina	1	Cape Hatteras	32	W. Jones (D)	81	80
	2	Durham	36	Valentine (D)	54	-
	3	Goldsboro	25	Whitley (D)	64	55
	7	Fayetteville	25	Rose (D)	71	60
	9	Charlotte	21	J. Martin (R)	57	25

Table 3 (Continued)

State	District number	Location	Black percentage of voting-age population	Incumbent (party)	Percentage received by incumbent, 1982	CEA rating, 1982
Ohio	21	Cleveland (East)	58	Stokes (D)	86	95
Pennsylvania	1	Philadelphia (South)	29	Foglietta (D)	72	95
	2	Philadelphia (West)	76	Gray (D)	76	95
South Carolina	1	Charleston	29	Hartnett (R)	54	10
	2	Columbia	32	Spence (R)	59	25
	3	Anderson	20	Derrick (D)	90	65
	5	Rock Hill	29	Spratt (D)	68	-
	6	Florence	37	Tallon (D)	52	-
Tennessee	5	Nashville	20	Boner (D)	80	75
	9	Memphis	51	Ford (D)	72	80
Texas	9	Beaumont-Galveston	20	Brooks (D)	68	55
	18	Houston (Central)	39	Leland (D)	83	100
	24	Dallas (South)	29	Frost (D)	73	90
	25	Houston (South)	23	Andrews (D)	60	-
Virginia	1	Newport News	29	Bateman (R)	54	-
	2	Norfolk	21	Whitehurst (R)	100	25
	3	Richmond	27	Bliley (R)	59	25
	4	Portsmouth	37	Sisisky (D)	54	-
	5	Danville	22	Daniel (D)	100	20
Wisconsin	5	Milwaukee (North Side)	22	Moody (D)	64	-

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* Black percentage of total population under the plan passed in December 1983. The black percentage of the voting-age population was unavailable at press time.

Table 4. Reported black voter registration and turnout, 1966-1982

Year	Total voting-age population (thousands)	Total registered (thousands)	Registration rate (%)	Black voting-age population (thousands)	Blacks registered (thousands)	Registration rate (%)	Total voted (thousands)	Blacks voted (thousands)
				United States				
1966	112,800	79,295	70.3	10,533	6,345	60.3	62,518	4,398
1968	116,535	86,574	74.3	10,935	7,238	66.2	78,964	6,300
1970	120,701	82,181	68.1	11,472	6,971	60.8	65,888	4,992
1972	136,203	98,480	72.3	13,493	8,837	65.5	85,766	7,032
1974	141,299	87,889	62.2	14,175	7,778	54.9	63,164	4,786
1976	146,548	97,761	66.7	14,927	8,725	58.5	86,698	7,273
1978	151,646	94,883	62.6	15,636	8,921	57.1	69,587	5,812
1980	157,085	105,035	66.9	16,423	9,849	60.0	93,066	8,287
1982	165,483	105,996	64.1	17,624	10,422	59.1	80,310	7,581
				South				
1966	34,445	21,433	62.2	5,684	3,008	52.9	14,806	1,870
1968	34,941	24,165	69.2	5,991	3,690	61.5	20,994	3,094
1970	37,186	23,707	63.7	6,196	3,565	57.6	16,624	2,278
1972	42,550	29,224	68.7	6,950	4,450	64.0	23,573	3,324
1974	44,794	26,785	59.8	7,401	4,107	55.5	16,105	2,219
1976	47,145	30,455	64.6	7,987	4,503	56.4	25,869	3,649
1978	48,752	29,284	60.1	8,279	4,654	56.2	19,282	2,771
1980	50,561	32,745	64.8	8,507	5,048	59.3	28,103	4,104
1982	55,357	34,152	61.7	9,500	5,410	56.9	23,139	3,637

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 5. Reported voter participation as a percentage of those registered to vote, by region and race, 1968-1982

	Congressional elections				Presidential elections			
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1980	1976	1972	1968
United States	75.8	73.3	71.9	80.2	88.5	88.8	87.1	91.3
White	76.1	74.2	72.9	80.9	89.0	89.2	87.9	91.6
Black	72.7	65.1	61.5	71.6	84.2	83.2	79.5	87.0
North and West	79.6	76.7	77.0	84.2	89.8	90.4	89.9	92.8
White	79.6	77.0	77.5	84.5	90.0	90.7	90.1	93.0
Black	78.7	71.3	69.9	79.7	87.1	85.7	84.6	90.3
South	67.8	65.8	60.1	70.1	85.8	85.0	80.6	86.8
White	68.0	67.0	61.3	71.3	86.7	85.6	81.7	87.4
Black	67.2	59.5	54.0	63.9	81.3	81.0	74.7	83.8

Source: Recalculated from Census Bureau data.

Table 6. Reported voter participation as a percentage of voting-age population, by region and race, 1964-1982

	Congressional elections					Presidential elections				
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
United States										
White	49.9	47.3	46.3	56.0	57.0	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
Black	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
North and West										
White	53.1	50.0	50.0	59.8	61.7	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7
Black	48.5	41.3	37.9	51.4	52.1	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	72.0
Difference	4.6	8.7	12.1	8.4	9.6	9.6	10.4	10.8	7.0	2.7
South										
White	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.6
Black	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 7. Black party identification, 1937-1980

Year	Democrats (%)	Republicans (%)	Independents and others (%)	Presidential winner
1937	44	37	19	Roosevelt (D)
1940	42	42	16	Roosevelt (D)
1944	40	40	21	Roosevelt (D)
1948	56	25	19	Truman (D)
1952	63	17	21	Eisenhower (R)
1956	56	20	25	Eisenhower (R)
1960	53	21	26	Kennedy (D)
1964	82	8	11	Johnson (D)
1968	92	3	6	Nixon (R)
1972	76	11	14	Nixon (R)
1976	85	6	9	Carter (D)
1980	81	8	11	Reagan (R)

Sources: Figures for 1937-1948 from Gallup Poll data reprinted in Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. and Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), pp. 60, 112; for 1952-1980, from Survey Research Center data.

Table 8. Black support for democratic presidential nominees, 1936-1980

Year	Democratic support (%)
1936	71 (Roosevelt)
1940	67 (Roosevelt)
1944	68 (Roosevelt)
1948	77 (Truman)
1952	79 (Stevenson)
1956	61 (Stevenson)
1960	68 (Kennedy)
1964	94 (Johnson)
1968	85 (Humphrey)
1972	87 (McGovern)
1976	85 (Carter)
1980	86 (Carter)

Sources: Figures for 1937-1948 from Gallup Poll data reprinted in Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. and Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), pp. 60, 112; for 1952-1980, from Gallup Poll data for non-whites in the Gallup Opinion Index (December 1980), p. 74.

Table 9. Number of blacks in selected categories of elected officials, 1970-1983

Year	Members of Congress	State senators	State representatives	Mayors	City council-members	Total black elected officials
1970	10	31	137	48	552	1,469
1971	14	36	162	81*	653	1,860
1972	14	37	169	86*	780	2,264
1973	16	42	196	82	840	2,621
1974	17	40	196	108	1,080	2,991
1975	18	53	223	135	1,237	3,503
1976	18	53	223	152	1,442	3,979
1977	17	56	238	162	1,560	4,311
1978	17	56	238	170	1,618	4,503
1979	17	70	237	175	1,696	4,607
1980	17	70	247	182	1,809	4,912
1981	18	76	257	204	1,818	5,038
1982	18	73	257	223	1,872	5,160
1983	21	85	290	247	2,030	5,606

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* Total includes deputy mayors, 1971 and 1972 only.

Table 10. Cities with black mayors (1980 population over 50,000)

City	Total population	% Black	Mayor	Expiration date
Chicago, IL	3,005,078	40.0	Harold WASHINGTON	4/87
Los Angeles, CA	2,996,763	17.0	Thomas BRADLEY	7/85
Philadelphia, PA	1,588,220	40.2	W. Wilson GOODE	12/87
Detroit, MI	1,203,339	63.1	Coleman YOUNG	12/85
Washington, DC	637,651	70.3	Marion BARRY	12/86
New Orleans, LA	557,482	55.3	Ernest MORIAL	3/86
Atlanta, GA	425,022	66.6	Andrew YOUNG	12/85
Newark, NJ	349,248	46.9	Kenneth GIBSON	6/86
Oakland, CA	339,288	46.9	Lionel J. WILSON	6/85
Charlotte, NC	314,447	31.0	Harvey B. GANTT	12/85
Birmingham, AL	284,413	55.6	Richard ARRINGTON	11/83
Richmond, VA	219,214	51.3	Roy A. WEST	6/84
Spokane, WA	171,300	1.6	James CHASE	12/85
Flint, MI	159,611	41.4	James A. SHARP, Jr.	12/85
Gary, IN	151,953	70.8	Richard G. HATCHER	12/87
Hartford, CT	136,392	33.9	Thirman L. MILNER	11/85
Pasadena, CA	119,374	20.6	Loretta T. GLICKMAN	5/85
Berkeley, CA	103,328	20.1	Gus NEWPORT	4/86
Roanoke, VA	100,247	22.0	Noel TAYLOR	6/84
Camden, NJ	84,910	53.0	Melvin PRIMAS	7/85
Compton, CA	81,286	74.8	Walter TUCKER	12/85
Carson, CA	81,221	29.3	Thomas G. MILLS	4/86
East Orange, NJ	77,025	83.6	Thomas COOKE, Jr.	12/85
Pontiac, MI	76,715	37.2	Wallace HOLLAND	4/86
Evanston, IL (Evanston Township)	73,706	21.4	Arnold WINFIELD	4/85
West Palm Beach, FL	62,530	28.2	Eva MACK	3/85
East Saint Louis, IL	55,200	95.6	Earl E. OFFICER	5/87

Table 11. Number of black delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-1980

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	% Black delegates to total	Black alternates
1932	1,154	0	--	10
1936	1,204	12	0.1	18
1940	1,094	7	0.6	18
1944	1,176	11	0.9	13
1948	1,234	17	1.3	*
1952	1,230	33	2.6	*
1956	1,372	24	1.7	21
1960	1,521	46	3.0	37
1964	2,316	65	2.8	55
1968	3,084	209	6.7	173
1972	3,103	452	14.6	*
1976	3,048	323	10.6	170
1980	3,331	481	14.4	297

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: Definitive data on black delegates to Democratic Conventions are not available. These figures were compiled from a variety of sources.

* Alternates not specified.

Table 12. Black delegate representation at 1972, 1976, and 1980 Democratic National Conventions, by state

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates					
			1980*		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	45	26.2	17	37.7	6	17.1	10	27.0
Alaska	11	3.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	5.0
Arizona	29	3.0	3	10.3	1	4.0	2	8.0
Arkansas	33	18.3	7	21.2	2	7.7	5	18.5
California	306	7.0	38	12.4	33	11.8	51	18.8
Colorado	40	3.0	2	5.0	4	11.4	5	13.8
Connecticut	54	6.0	6	11.1	3	5.9	4	7.8
Delaware	14	14.3	2	14.2	0	0.0	3	15.0
District of Columbia	19	71.1	12	63.1	8	47.1	14	70.0
Florida	100	15.3	18	18.0	4	4.9	10	12.3
Georgia	63	25.9	14	22.2	13	26.0	16	30.1
Hawaii	19	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	17	0.3	0	0.0	1	6.3	2	10.0
Illinois	179	12.8	28	15.6	21	12.4	17	10.0
Indiana	80	6.9	9	11.2	7	9.3	11	14.4
Iowa	50	1.2	4	8.0	2	4.3	3	6.5
Kansas	37	4.8	2	5.4	1	2.9	4	11.4
Kentucky	50	7.2	2	4.0	2	4.4	5	10.6
Louisiana	51	29.8	19	37.2	6	14.6	19	43.2
Maine	22	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	59	17.8	12	20.3	11	20.8	7	13.2
Massachusetts	111	3.1	6	5.4	4	3.9	12	11.8
Michigan	141	7.2	28	19.8	28	21.1	27	20.5
Minnesota	75	0.9	5	6.6	4	6.2	6	9.4
Mississippi	32	36.8	11	34.3	8	33.3	14	56.0
Missouri	77	10.3	10	12.9	9	12.7	9	12.3
Montana	19	0.3	0	0.0	**	**	1	5.0
Nebraska	24	2.7	2	8.3	1	4.4	1	4.2
Nevada	12	5.7	1	8.3	2	12.5	2	10.0
New Hampshire	19	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New Jersey	113	10.7	20	17.6	9	8.3	17	15.6
New Mexico	20	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
New York	282	11.9	48	17.0	25	9.1	35	12.6
North Carolina	69	22.2	16	23.1	9	14.8	13	20.3
North Dakota	14	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0

Table 12 (Continued)

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates					
			1980*		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
Ohio	161	9.1	23	14.2	27	17.8	27	17.6
Oklahoma	42	6.7	6	14.2	4	10.8	3	7.7
Oregon	39	1.3	1	2.5	0	0.0	2	5.9
Pennsylvania	185	8.6	21	11.3	18	10.1	19	10.4
Rhode Island	23	2.7	0	0.0	1	4.6	2	9.1
South Carolina	37	30.5	16	43.2	7	22.6	11	34.4
South Dakota	19	0.2	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0
Tennessee	55	15.8	9	16.3	8	17.4	16	32.7
Texas	152	12.5	24	15.7	16	12.3	13	10.0
Utah	20	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	12	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Virginia	64	18.5	17	26.5	9	16.7	15	28.3
Washington	58	2.1	10	17.2	2	3.8	3	5.8
West Virginia	35	3.9	1	2.8	1	3.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	75	2.9	8	10.6	3	4.4	5	7.5
Wyoming	11	0.8	1	9.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Guam	4	**	0	0.0	**	**	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	41	**	0	0.0	**	**	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	4	80.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	4	66.7
Latin America	4	**	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Democrats Abroad	4	**	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	3,331	11.2	481	14.4	332	10.7	450	14.9

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

*The 1980 figures for black delegates reflect the Joint Center's count as of July 25, 1980. It is possible that changes and/or additions occurred subsequent to that date.

**Data on the racial identification of delegates were unavailable.

Note: In 1972 and 1976, the total number of Democratic delegates was 3,106 and 3,008, respectively.

Table 13. Number of black delegates at Republican National Conventions, 1912 - 1980

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	% of black delegates to total	Black alternates
1912	1,078	65	6.0	*
1916	985	35	3.5	*
1920	984	29	2.9	*
1924	1,109	39	3.5	1
1928	1,098	49	4.4	55
1932	1,154	26	2.2	27
1936	1,003	45	4.5	34
1940	1,000	32	3.2	53
1944	1,057	18	1.7	27
1948	1,094	41	3.7	34
1952	1,206	29	2.4	34
1956	1,323	36	2.7	41
1960	1,331	22	1.6	28
1964	1,308	14	1.0	29
1968	1,333	26	1.9	52
1972	1,348	56	4.2	84
1976	2,259	76	3.4	74
1980	1,993	55	2.7	66

Sources: Negro Year Book, 1931-32, and Republican National Conventions, 1912-68.

*Alternates not specified.

Table 14. Black delegate representation at 1972, 1976, and 1980 Republican National Conventions, by state

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates					
			1980		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	27	26.2	0	0.0	1	2.7	1	5.5
Alaska	19	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Arizona	28	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.5
Arkansas	19	18.3	1	5.3	0	0.0	3	16.6
California	168	7.0	7	4.2	5	3.0	4	4.1
Colorado	31	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Connecticut	35	6.0	1	2.7	1	2.9	0	0.0
Delaware	12	14.3	1	8.3	1	5.9	2	16.7
District of Columbia	14	71.1	7	50.0	6	42.9	3	33.3
Florida	51	15.3	1	2.0	1	1.5	1	2.5
Georgia	36	25.9	1	2.8	1	2.1	1	4.1
Hawaii	14	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	21	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Illinois	102	12.8	3	2.9	8	7.9	2	3.4
Indiana	54	6.9	3	5.6	2	3.7	1	3.1
Iowa	37	1.2	1	2.7	0	0.0	1	4.5
Kansas	32	4.8	1	3.1	1	2.9	1	5.0
Kentucky	27	7.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.1
Louisiana	30	29.8	1	3.2	1	2.4	2	10.0
Maine	21	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	30	17.8	2	6.7	3	7.0	3	11.5
Massachusetts	42	3.1	0	0.0	1	2.3	0	0.0
Michigan	82	7.2	7	8.5	7	8.3	5	10.4
Minnesota	34	0.9	0	0.0	1	2.4	1	3.8
Mississippi	22	36.8	0	0.0	2	6.7	1	7.1
Missouri	37	10.3	1	2.7	1	2.0	1	3.3
Montana	20	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nebraska	25	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nevada	17	5.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.3
New Hampshire	22	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 14 (Continued)

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates 1980 #	1980 %	1976 #	1976 %	1972 #	1972 %
New Jersey	66	10.7	2	3.0	1	1.5	2	5.0
New Mexico	22	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New York	123	11.9	5	4.1	11	7.1	8	9.0
North Carolina	40	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.2
North Dakota	17	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ohio	77	9.1	0	0.0	5	5.2	1	1.8
Oklahoma	34	6.7	1	2.9	1	2.8	0	0.0
Oregon	29	1.3	1	3.5	1	3.3	0	0.0
Pennsylvania	83	8.6	4	4.8	7	6.8	1	1.7
Rhode Island	13	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
South Carolina	25	30.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5
South Dakota	22	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tennessee	32	15.8	1	3.1	3	7.0	1	3.8
Texas	80	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Utah	21	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	19	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virginia	51	18.5	0	0.0	1	2.0	3	10.0
Washington	37	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
West Virginia	18	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	34	2.9	0	0.0	1	2.2	0	0.0
Wyoming	19	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Guam	4	--	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	14	--	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	4	80.0	3	75.0	2	50.0	1	33.3
TOTALS	1,993	11.2	55	2.7	76	3.4	56	4.2

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 15. Black voter registration, 1982

Rank by number of unregistered blacks	State	Unregistered black voting-age population	Registered black voting-age population	Total black voting-age population**	Percentage of voting-age blacks registered	Reagan victory margin, 1980
1	New York*	894,000	737,000	1,631,000	45.2	165,459
2	Texas	520,000	678,000	1,198,000	56.6	629,558
3	North Carolina*	506,000	391,000	897,000	43.6	39,383
4	Georgia	472,000	510,000	982,000	51.9	-236,787
5	California	462,000	836,000	1,298,000	64.4	1,441,183
6	Florida	459,000	464,000	923,000	50.3	627,476
7	Virginia*	331,000	383,000	714,000	53.6	237,435
8	Pennsylvania	294,000	426,000	720,000	59.2	324,332
9	South Carolina*	292,000	333,000	625,000	53.3	11,456
10	Alabama*	272,000	372,000	644,000	57.7	17,462
11	Illinois	257,000	819,000	1,077,000	76.1	376,681
12	Maryland	256,000	407,000	664,000	61.4	-45,555
13	Louisiana*	256,000	557,000	813,000	68.5	84,400
14	New Jersey	247,000	363,000	610,000	59.5	399,193
15	Ohio	247,000	470,000	717,000	65.6	454,131
16	Michigan	214,000	553,000	767,000	72.1	253,693
17	Tennessee*	158,000	322,000	479,000	67.1	4,710
18	District of Columbia	149,000	171,000	320,000	53.5	-102,611
19	Mississippi*	131,000	410,000	541,000	75.8	11,808
20	Arkansas*	85,000	147,000	233,000	63.3	5,123
21	Indiana	84,000	182,000	265,000	68.5	411,459
22	Missouri	79,000	260,000	339,000	76.7	142,999
23	Connecticut	68,000	75,000	143,000	52.3	135,478
24	Massachusetts*	64,000	86,000	149,000	57.3	2,423
25	Kentucky*	62,000	114,000	176,000	64.9	17,857
26	Oklahoma	56,000	82,000	138,000	59.2	293,544
27	Wisconsin	13,000	97,000	111,000	87.9	107,261

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* In these states, the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in 1982 exceeded the Republican margin of victory in the 1980 presidential election.

** Because all numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand, some numbers in this column do not equal the sum of numbers in the two preceding columns.

Table 16. Presidential victory margins, 1960-1980, and black percentage of voting-age population, by state.

State	Electoral votes	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	Median	Partisan outlook	Black percentage of voting-age population
Northeast	113									
Connecticut *	8	+7.4	+35.7	+5.2	-18.5	-5.2	-9.7	0.0	Tossup	6.0
Delaware *	3	+1.6	+22.2	-3.5	-20.4	+5.3	-2.4	-0.4	Tossup	14.2
Dist. of Columbia	3	--	+71.0	+63.6	+56.5	+65.1	+61.4	+63.6	Safe D	65.8
Maine	4	-14.1	+37.6	+14.2	-23.0	-0.8	-3.3	-2.1	Tossup	0.3
Maryland	10	+7.2	+31.0	+1.7	-23.9	+6.1	+2.9	+4.5	Leans D	20.8
Massachusetts	13	+20.6	+52.8	+30.1	+9.0	+15.7	-0.2	+18.1	Safe D	3.4
New Hampshire	4	-6.8	+27.2	-8.2	-29.1	-10.2	-29.3	-9.2	Strong R	0.4
New Jersey *	16	+0.8	+31.7	-2.1	-24.8	-2.2	-13.4	-2.1	Tossup	11.0
New York	36	+5.2	+37.3	+5.5	-17.0	+4.4	-2.7	+4.8	Leans D	12.4
Pennsylvania *	25	+2.4	+30.2	+3.6	-20.0	+2.7	-7.1	+2.5	Tossup	8.1
Rhode Island	4	+27.2	+61.8	+32.2	-6.2	+11.3	+10.5	+19.2	Safe D	2.5
Vermont	3	-17.3	+32.6	-9.3	-26.3	-11.8	-6.0	-10.5	Strong R	0.2
South	177									
Alabama *	9	+14.7	-38.9	+4.8	-46.9	+13.1	-1.4	+1.7	Tossup	22.9
Arkansas *	6	+7.1	+12.7	-0.4	-38.2	+30.1	-0.6	+3.3	Tossup	14.1
Florida	21	-3.0	+2.3	-9.6	-44.1	+5.3	-17.0	-6.3	Leans R	11.3
Georgia	12	+25.1	-8.2	-3.6	-50.6	+33.7	+14.8	+5.6	Leans D	24.3
Kentucky *	9	-7.2	+28.3	-6.1	-29.6	+7.2	-1.5	-3.8	Tossup	6.7
Louisiana *	10	+21.8	-13.6	+4.7	-27.4	+5.7	-5.5	+0.1	Tossup	26.6
Mississippi *	7	+11.6	-74.2	+9.5	-58.6	+1.9	-1.3	0.3	Tossup	31.0
North Carolina *	13	+4.2	+12.3	-10.3	-40.6	+11.0	-2.1	+1.0	Tossup	20.3
Oklahoma	8	-18.0	+11.5	-15.7	-49.7	-1.3	-25.5	-16.8	Safe R	6.0
South Carolina	8	+2.4	-17.8	-8.5	-43.1	+13.1	-1.3	-4.9	Leans R	27.3
Tennessee *	11	-7.1	+11.0	-9.8	-37.9	+13.0	-0.3	-3.7	Tossup	14.2
Texas *	29	+2.0	+26.8	+1.2	-32.9	+3.1	-13.9	+1.6	Tossup	11.1
Virginia	12	-5.4	+7.3	-10.9	-37.7	-1.3	-12.7	-8.1	Strong R	17.5
West Virginia	6	+5.4	+35.8	+8.8	-27.2	+16.1	+4.5	+7.1	Leans D	3.2

Table 16 (Continued)

State	Electoral votes	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	Median	Partisan outlook	Black percentage of voting-age population
Midwest	137									
Illinois *	24	+0.2	+19.0	-2.9	-18.5	-2.0	-7.9	-2.4	Tossup	12.9
Indiana	12	-10.4	+12.4	-12.3	-32.8	-5.6	-18.3	-11.3	Strong R	6.8
Iowa	8	-13.5	+24.0	-12.2	-17.1	-1.0	-12.7	12.4	Strong R	1.2
Kansas	7	-21.4	+9.0	-20.1	-38.2	-7.6	-24.6	-20.7	Safe R	4.8
Michigan *	20	+2.1	+33.6	+6.7	-14.4	-5.4	-6.5	-1.6	Tossup	11.7
Minnesota	10	+1.4	+27.8	+12.5	-5.5	+12.9	+3.9	+8.4	Strong D	1.1
Missouri *	11	+0.6	+28.1	-1.2	-24.6	+3.6	-6.9	-0.3	Tossup	9.3
Nebraska	5	-24.2	+5.2	-28.0	-41.0	-20.7	-39.5	-26.1	Safe R	2.6
North Dakota	3	-10.9	+16.1	-17.7	-26.3	-4.8	-37.9	-14.3	Strong R	0.4
Ohio	23	-6.6	+25.8	-2.2	-21.5	+0.2	-10.6	-4.4	Leans R	9.2
South Dakota	3	-16.4	+11.2	-11.3	-8.7	-1.5	-28.8	-10.0	Strong R	0.3
Wisconsin	11	-3.7	+24.4	-3.6	-9.7	+1.6	-4.7	-3.6	Tossup	3.2
West	111									
Alaska	3	-1.8	+31.8	-2.6	-23.5	-22.2	27.9	-12.4	Strong R	3.4
Arizona	7	-11.1	-1.0	-19.8	-31.2	-16.6	-32.4	-18.2	Safe R	2.5
California *	47	-0.5	+18.3	-3.1	-13.5	-1.7	-16.8	-2.4	Tossup	7.1
Colorado	8	-9.3	+23.1	-9.2	-28.0	-11.4	-24.0	-10.3	Strong R	3.2
Hawaii	4	+0.0	+57.6	+21.1	-25.0	+2.5	+1.9	+2.2	Tossup	1.9
Idaho	4	-7.6	+1.8	-26.1	-38.2	-22.5	-41.3	-24.3	Safe R	0.3
Montana	4	-2.5	+18.4	-9.0	-20.0	-7.4	-24.4	-8.2	Strong R	0.2
Nevada	4	+2.4	+17.2	-8.2	-27.4	-4.4	-35.6	-6.3	Leans R	5.3
New Mexico	5	+0.8	+18.6	-12.1	-24.5	-2.4	-18.2	-7.2	Leans R	1.7
Oregon	7	-5.3	+27.7	-6.0	-10.2	-0.2	-9.6	-5.6	Leans R	1.2
Utah	5	-9.6	+8.6	-19.4	-41.2	-28.8	-52.2	-24.1	Safe R	0.7
Washington	10	-2.4	+24.6	+2.1	-18.3	-3.9	-12.4	-3.1	Tossup	2.4
Wyoming	3	-10.0	+7.2	-20.3	-38.5	-19.5	-34.6	-19.9	Safe R	0.7
USA	538	+0.2	+22.5	-0.7	-23.2	+2.1	-9.7	-0.2		

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* Tossup states in which the black percentage of the voting-age population is greater than the median presidential victory margin.

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